1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

side, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the forest council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to have the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 56). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the forest council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo or another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living above the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-Dorobo.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which run across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(a) Forest type: the *kororgwet*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) New type: the *kotet* has a circular wall about 3 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kororgwet* huts, were situated to discharge just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the bows are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire anklets and bangles, necklaces, and assorted women's ear-rings (*kwik*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is burnt in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a leather cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo re-

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

623 [587] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms:—

Ke'rsoch lgalak ai kosich che mlysch ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] ysch, ai ko-kas piik tukul. Ingoosio chilt'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-con, ai kwa emet ake.
other say, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

771 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi.

776 They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray

● [582] to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* ipiy'-ech emilit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiy'-ech emilit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[583] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiinde*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and

[582] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik ake ndyuek*) to obtain food and health, e.g.:—

Oiik, ipiy'-ech emilit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiy'-ech aapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[582] *Libations* of honey and water (*kapsuki*?) and of honey-wine (*kipchiuli*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*kondo*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiy'-ech emilit ai kipiiye aapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group: though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Sun, *The Sun*, for the ideas of the Sun, Enjemut, Turkana, etc.)

* The Nandi *other* oiik.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad oiik (*oiik che yach*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oiindet has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad oiik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap oiik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pondindet*, pl. *ponik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*orkoiyot*, pl. *orkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "orkoinotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tiinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "opeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sakut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepuyuwet tree (N. *lapuonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakunyet*, or *koroiito* (*koroita*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the rĕrendet tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*ñgetik*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*poiisiek*, or *apaiisiek*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*ilpik*, N.) and women (*korusiek*, or *chepiosôk*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the sigiroinet (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*mureriat*; N. *mureret*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kimiñiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum,* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *simbuisiek*) made of the skin of the tiniet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimaroket*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Cham-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tâkwenya*"; answer, "*Igô*."

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Cham-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kuiset ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cemsisiriat*, is his arm, *ne naiyo pûk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arasa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotoh oiik, ahenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilot*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowillôk*). It seems to be the same word as the *esoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *musambwa*, "spirit".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[175] [782] [825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii laknet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name [553] of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day [782] unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear. [753]

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*urust*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

[204] [782] Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilōk, okónec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
okónec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

[787] [755] When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korlpe, korn ne korne cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

776 Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the *performance of certain ritual actions which may involve* some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *siyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*unan* or *somís*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *siyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *siyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Money is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuyuwet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arana* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

776 *Religion and Magic.*—God, the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called *Nakwitt*. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Otiose as he is, he can on occasion [782] be persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intervene in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

791 The wizard is known as *Ngamarosi*. His functions are the same as those of the *Ajobo* of Labwor, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wanderobo a great rain-maker whose name, Longalesi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wanderobo themselves, but also by the Dodotho, the Jie, the Karamojong and the Turkana peoples, but not, however, by the Dodinga of the Sudan.

789 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Longalesi, who would sit quietly smoking, so it is related, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would bestir himself in the matter of making rain. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalopeto, in a ravine that runs down into the Rift valley, where grows a giant fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and be ducked in the water, but not allowed to drown. After this it would be speared in such a way that the contents of the stomach could be extracted without destroying the receptacle, which would then be filled with water. The procedure then was to hang the goat to the top of the fig-tree, while Longalesi called upon Nakwitt to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's beseechings, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, drain out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and bear it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in due course the rain would fall.

791 Longalesi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a king among rain-makers. He is much regretted by the Wanderobo, who say that since his death (he died in the Turkana country) the rains have been poor and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in his day. His son is, or was, a chief in Turkana. It is to be noted that Longalesi was not a chief, but first and last a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of such specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[123] I secretly contracted with the present Wanderobo chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the giant tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I and my search party failed to find him. I never saw him again.

D J 197 A few measurements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. These seem to indicate differences between the Wanderobo and their neighbours. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in their speech, for although the Wanderobo speak "Karamojong," the tongue which,

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

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Some Dorobo Beliefs. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain oftened threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

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[P.196, B]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have 224
been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons,
and while trapping is still carried on, I could see
no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the [124]
description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of
a government which forbids hunting, and has of [248]
late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effect-
ually sealed the lips of one or two who would
normally have spoken on the subject. My infor-
mants, however, did say that sexual intercourse
was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though [834]
not before or during the process of trapping. In
hunting there is an element of personal danger
and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to
give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck.
In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a
matter of technological skill, and with little danger
to the trapper, who is sure to catch something
sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Ásis* [776]
(god) and the chesumiik' (both the good ancestral [782]
and the bad elemental) can influence a man's
hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he
will say:

Ásis, ɓiiyech payyak,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesumiik, chhaach tiiny ne hiiyare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*hamiat*) is an important article of Do- 222
robo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: [262]
it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. [273]
It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but
requires a certain technique, and, above all, the
presence of bees in a suitable place. As, there-
fore, it has an actual social value, so it has
acquired a ritual value, and certain observances [988]
are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail.
First, you must have your bees, and a man who
has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to
ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by
calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice,
"Bees, bees, all you who are in this country,
come now and make honey here."

[illegible] [825]

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764 [177] [511] [556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere.

[1182] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Ûât, nge gurguta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.[1]

765 [171]

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428 [171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol dawidani leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

[171]

768 [563]

1. [See Masai FL11, 18 Merker, category 765--Analyst]

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called ígíti or ígítia, tomorrow íípe or ííbe, yesterday aremch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, míliek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 191 776 [821] The religious views of the Wandoróbo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai, except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uíd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God. Uíd kabtama; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabeka, the latter adja kaboma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uíd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way. If they are afflicted by trouble or illness in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs Uíd sigima gemiechin; for children, Uíd nge hawa; for wives, Uíd nge mai; for meat, Uíd nge ngai for honey, Uíd nge agulgi; for food, Uíd nge e haingi; for health if 795 [971] one is sick, Uíd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandoróbo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1. [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

18 Merker--643 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL13 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/230 cont./

• 782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for ilk. which they call kuroŋg or koroŋg. For a koroŋg a kave, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Ilk ngo kawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which cattle and honey beer are consumed. At a koroŋg e ngo they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companions station themselves around the fire and sing: Ilk ngai nagai (nagai = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Ilk ang kaiŋ ang which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Ilk ngai nagai. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a koroŋg e ngo they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to the ol ngoi ! ol gawuti. Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The Kalosi use only one, which they called tarara and which consisted of a small piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spoil the right

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Amal yet]

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[783 cont.]

783 them under his head or night; the next morning he throws the cowrie again, this time five times, whereupon he knows that the guilty one took this and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks of a dead elephant are stolen (the hunter does not recover them immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying of the gums), the one who killed the animal casts magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-swirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandobélbo, this magic is so effective that the thief must inevitably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

785 786 787 [Only in colonized areas are there legal proceedings, which also take place in the same manner as among the blacks. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The one seeking grant the one granting, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned application prayers. Ubi ego kava, Ubi ego mat, Ubi ego! ego! and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

788 A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the blacks. Besides the latter, the formula, Ubi bloiba = may God kill me, is also customary.

789 To extort confession one uses the torture customary among the blacks, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandobélbo call it ambogo ramg. In their court sessions the Ané are not acquainted with any ordeals (ramag) other than the ones discussed for the blacks. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gut wambiá, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kambiago ragarré, and that of the mud cools of earth, which they designate the same as the blacks. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandobélbo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol ramag, as it is also called here, besides ramag, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is undoubtedly established in the minds of the people. For example,